(6)

A DISCOURSE

Concerning the

Riſe and Antiquity

OF

Cathedral Worſhip.

In a Letter to a Friend.

LONDON,

Printed, and are to be ſold by *A. Baldwin* in *Warwick-lane*, 1699.

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BIBLIOTHECA BODLEIANA

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Worthy Sir,

I Have always eſteem'd well manag'd Converſation at convenient Seaſons, to be as improving as the moſt retir'd Meditation. Had I not before been of this Opinion, I ſhould have bin very much enclin'd to it, by the benefit I have oft receiv'd from the free Diſcourſe of thoſe ingenious Gentlemen, by whom your Lodgings are ſo much frequented. Often do I, when alone, with unſpeakable pleaſure recollect what paſt while I was among you; what maſculine Thoughts were ſtarted, and how they were guarded againſt the inſults of the leſs judicious part of Mankind; how vulgar Prejudices were remov'd, and current Miſtakes rectify'd, of which the Mob is generally as fond as of their antient Bounds and Landmarks: and when I have done, I hug my ſelf as delightfully as doth the moſt ſcraping Muck-worm, when he hath made the moſt gainful bargain: for improved Knowledg is with me the greateſt gain.

Our laſt Conference about the difference between Cathedral and Parochial Worſhip, was very entertaining: I would not deſire to hear a matter more throughly debated: Mr. *B.* in my opinion went beyond himſelf. I was not a little pleas'd to ſee Mr. *L.* ſo open to Conviction: and cannot be inſenſible how much we were all oblig'd to that ingenious Gentleman, who introduc'd Dr. *S.* into our Company upon this occaſion. I concluded we ſhould have the utmoſt ſtrength the Cauſe would bear, deliver'd with as much Wit and Facetiouſneſs as we could well deſire. I liſten'd attentively to his Arguments, and was free to give them all the ſtreſs they deſerv'd, tho I could not reliſh his Frowns and Grimaces upon any ſmart reply, which lookt as if he would frighten us into a ſubmiſſion to his Sentiments and Notions, and force his way where reaſon fail'd. But his cloſing heat, when he ſaw we were not to be gain'd upon, becauſe unconvinc'd, led him quite beſide the Cuſhion: he forgat himſelf, and diſſerv'd his Cauſe. What, thought I preſently, is this a time of day to revive the old weather-beaten Maxim, of believing as the Church believes, and following her blindly? Are we not yet paſt our Dotage? Are the Trappings of Religion as warmly to be contended for as a good Faith or Life? Is ſuch manifeſt Bigotry the way to cure Infidelity, which is the growing Vice of the Age we live in? But I find 'tis as true as ever, that *Craſts-men* will exclaim when their *Gain* is touch'd; and *Great is* Diana *of the* Epheſians. Act. 19. 24, 34.

Mr. *M*'s Argument methinks carrys a great deal in it. Simplicity and Gravity are the most becoming Ornaments of Divine Worship; to fancy the great God pleas'd with Theatrical Pomp, and a noisy Ostentation in paying him publick Homage, were to represent him tinctur'd with human Vanity and Folly; which fills Conversation with superficial Ceremonies and complemental Addresses, that are but mere air and shew. But as they are nauseous to Men of sense, so may it well be concluded that any thing parallel to them, needs must be the like to the All-wise and Heart-searching God. 'Tis true in Humane Conversation, Men may be very complaisant and yet hearty; and in Divine Worship they may be Ceremonious and Formal, and yet truly Devout and Serious: but Likelihood in such cases is more considerable than Possibility. Men of Brains and Thought, altho they either through the tincture of Education, may really be fond of a pompous way of Worship; or for fear of singularity, may customarily fall in with such Ritual Observances as they don't much admire, are yet sufficiently guarded against so gross a weakness, as the resting in an outside Homage would imply: but what will become of the poor Vulgar? They use their Eyes and their Ears more than their Reason, and understand not the Art of Abstraction; when therefore they find the Divine Worship so contriv'd and ordered as to give them entertainment in their own way, gratifying their senses, and tickling their Fancies, instead of elevating their Understandings, and warming their Hearts, they'l be strangely apt to rest in the former, and over-look the latter, and so the great end is lost. He that questions this, seems little to know Mankind.

For my own part, I am far from being a friend to Slovenliness, or an enemy to Decency: I abhor Irreverence in Divine Worship out of a pretence to Spirituality; and yet am for guarding against too great a Prevalence of the sensual part, lest it degenerate into mere Form. And therefore cannot but fall in with that which appear'd the common sense of the Company, that it were better for our Cathedrals to imitate, than be propos'd as patterns to our Parish Churches.

That I remember, which the Doctor most harpt upon, in his Encomiums of the Cathedral way (compar'd to which he seem'd to look upon our Parish Worship as mere babbling) was Antiquity and Authority. There he had us at every turn, when he had not an Answer at hand to our Reasons. There he thought he had a safe Retreat: Thither (according to your desire) I have since pursu'd him, and can find no ground for such mighty Boasts. I have made the best search into the matter that I was able, with that assistance which

which my poor Library would afford, and muſt declare that I can find no footing of the modiſh Worſhip of our Cathedrals in the Chriſtian Church, either in the days of the Apoſtles, or for ſome after-Ages; that if my Authors don't miſinform me, (and there call in who you pleaſe to be Judges) it prevail'd not till the fourth Century was drawing to a cloſe, and came not to perfection till *Gregory* the Great's days: and was warmly oppos'd by ſundry Perſons of great Worth and Eminence for a long time before, at, and after the times of the Weſtern Reformation. If I can ſet this in a juſt light, I doubt the Doctor muſt lower his Top-ſail, and abate of his Pretenſions, leſt his Zeal prove too ſtrong for his Judgment.

His Plea from the Church, when Truth lies at ſtake, is with me of ſmall account. I honour the Reformation becauſe bottom'd upon a free ventilation of Truth, to which whoſoever attempts to put a ſtop, undermines our Foundations, and endangers a relapſe into Ignorance and Superſtition, from which we ought to be thankful that we are ſo happily eſcap'd. I honour our Church, but cannot think that thoſe befriend her, who would advance her to a practical Infallibility, admitting of no Alterations and Amendments: and cannot (when I review times paſt) forbear eſteeming her unhappy in many of her Sons that have appear'd moſt Dutiful, who have outdone her greateſt Enemies; and in her choiceſt Patriots, who have prov'd real Betrayers. For over-doing is undoing, and therefore I am well ſatisfy'd that Arch-Biſhop *Laud* with his Heat and Bigotry, was a greater Enemy to our Church, than *Tho. Cartwright* or any of his Abettors, with all their Admonitions and vehement Invectives. This I think the Event hath verify'd.

It is eaſy to be obſerv'd, when Men are once fond of a Notion, how buſy they are in ſearching for ſomething to defend it; how apt to turn all things almoſt they meet with into Proofs to ſerve their purpoſe. Take for inſtance, thoſe whoſe Ears are fill'd with the Cathedral Chanting, and whoſe minds are ſtill running on its delightful Melody and Harmony; give them the New Teſtament, and turn them to thoſe places where mention is made of ſinging Pſalms and Hymns, and they'l preſently fancy themſelves in the Quire, with their Singing-Boys about them; and 'tis ten to one but they can find Organs too, and other Muſical Inſtruments: they'l think they can preſently thence confute you, even tho they can find no fair Medium for an Argument. But this is a Phænomenon that is eaſily reſolv'd into a ſtrong prepoſſeſt imagination.

Perſons may if they pleaſe aſſert, that when our Bleſſed Saviour ſang

Mat. 26. 30. sang a *Hymn* or *Psalm* after his first Institution of the Holy Communion, he divided his Disciples for the greater Advantage, putting six on one side, and six on the other, giving them their parts to sing *Antiphonally*, while he himself was the *Præcentor*; for my part, I should put them off with a compassionate Smile, as not thinking the matter would bear an Argument. If they at the same time pre-
Acts 16. 25. tend that *Paul* and *Silas*, who *sang Praises unto God in the Stocks*, sang also like Choristers, rebounding their Parts from one to t'other, I would not bear hard upon them; 'tis pity methinks they should be envi'd the Pleasure of their profound Discoveries. When they urge St. *Paul*'s Authority, I am not, I must confess, much mov'd:
Eph. 5. 19. For tho I know he charges the *Ephesians* to *speak to themselves, in Psalms and Hymns and Spiritual Songs, singing and making Melody in*
Col. 3. 16. *their Hearts to the Lord*; and the *Colossians to teach and admonish one another in Psalms and Hymns*, &c. yet I can't see but this charge of his may be fully comply'd with, without any alternate singing after the manner of the Quire. *Baronius* indeed informs us, that the
Ad An. 60. Num. 24. Apostle here prescribes the Form of Ecclesiastical singing: But I think so important a matter needs better vouchers. Christians *speak to themselves, and admonish one another* in Psalms and Hymns sufficiently, by devout Psalmody in their Church-Assemblies and Private Families, while they thereby warm their own Hearts, and quicken and excite each other by their common Ardour. But for singing alternately and by turns, I can see nothing of it without Spectacles, which I am not fond of using for fear they should spoil my Eyes.

The most plausible Scripture-Allegation they produce is from the Book of the *Revelation*; where the Apostle represents the four Beasts that were about the Throne above, as crying out incessantly,
Rev. 4. 8, &c. *Holy, Holy, Holy, Lord God Almighty*, &c. which they strengthen
Isa. 6. 3. by a parallel Passage in the Prophet *Isaiah*, who brings them in as crying so one to another; to which cry of the Beasts, the 24 Elders give a sort of an Antiphonal Answer, saying: *Thou art worthy, O Lord, to receive Glory, and Honour, and Power*, &c. But we must have a better Key to the Prophetick Visions than hath yet bin found, before we can warrantably argue from them in dubious matters. I can't find but the *Apocalypse* is yet a Sealed Book, notwithstanding the great Labour and Pains of so many scores of Commentators to open and unfold it: who, as far as I can discern, know better how to overthrow one anothers Schemes and Hypotheses, than how to fix with any certainty when they have done. But as to the matter in hand, 'tis no way needful to labour for an Answer. The Pas-

sage

ſage in *Iſaiah* plainly refers to the Antient Temple-Worſhip, which can't be admitted a Precedent for Chriſtian Practice, till better proof is brought, that it was deſign'd, and is fit ſo to be, than is as yet to be met with. And it is withal generally agreed, that the Images in the Apocalyptic Viſions are fetcht from the Law, and not from the Goſpel: conſequently what in them relates to Divine Worſhip, refers to the Jewiſh and not the Chriſtian Mode of it: which takes away the force of any Argument that might hence be drawn, with reference to the practice of the Apoſtles or their Contemporaries, as to the uſing any alternate Singing in their publick Aſſemblies.

But if what is wanting in Scripture Proof, could be made up by Authentick Primitive Records, I ſhould be ſilent. For tho I can't fall in with thoſe who repreſent all the Antients as Giants, and all Moderns as Dwarfs, and confine Senſe, Learning and Piety, to former Times, yet I have a juſt Veneration for Antiquity; and can't particularly forbear having a great regard to the Sentiments and Practice of the Primitive Chriſtians. But the worſt of it is, many of the Allegations with reference to the matter in hand, out of the early Ages of the Church, run in ſo viſionary a ſtrain, that it requires more Credulity than I am maſter of, to lay any ſtreſs upon them: and as for the reſt, they are liable to ſo many Objections, that I ſee not how they can amount to any thing like ſufficient Evidence.

I have indeed read, that both the Apoſtolick College, and a Detachment from the Celeſtial Hierarchy, made up the Quire at the Celebration of the Funerals of the *Bleſſed Virgin*, the Mother of our Lord; whoſe remains with a mournful Ditty both of Angels and Apoſtles were depoſited in *Gethſemane*, where the Angels afterwards contin'd ſinging for three whole days together: which comes from no meaner an Author, than the famous *John* of *Damaſcus*; who I find was a great Patron of Image Worſhip, and therefore ſo much in favour with the Bleſſed Virgin, that when his Hand was cut off, 'twas through her Interceſſion miraculouſly join'd to his Body again. And (tho my Author informs me not, yet) I ſuppoſe this might be the hand which afterwards in a way of Gratitude, ſignaliz'd it ſelf by committing to Writing, and conveying to Poſterity, the foregoing Account of the Funeral Solemnity of his great Benefactrix. An admirable Story this to ſupport the Quire! what pity 'twas it remain'd ſo long unknown! Had it bin publiſh'd to the World four or five hundred years ſooner, it might have done good Service, and effectually

Joann. Damaſcen. Serm. 2. de Dorm. Deip. para.

ſilenc'd

silenc'd all Objections against the Cathedral way: but having kept secret 730 Years, it loses its force, and all that I can say is *Fides sit penes Authorem.* Let him look to the truth of it. The same Author elsewhere very gravely relates a pleasant Passage concerning the Original of the famous Antient Hymn call'd the *Trisagion*. The Story is this: In the time of *Proclus* the Archbishop, the People of *Constantinople* were making solemn Supplications on the account of some portentous Signs, which had a threatning Aspect. While they were full of Concern and Horror, a Boy being snatch'd from amongst them, was taught by the Angels to sing that celebrated Hymn, which ran thus; Ἅγιος ὁ Θεός, ἅγιος ἰσχυρός, ἅγιος ἀθάνατος, ἐλέησον ἡμᾶς. i. e. *Holy God, Holy and Strong, Holy and Immortal, Have mercy upon us.* The Boy when return'd, related what he had been taught by his Celestial Masters, and instructed the Multitude, who freely sang after him, and so averted the Judgments which threatned them. But such sort of Narratives are not food for my Understanding, with how confident an Air soever they are vented; tho for any thing I know there may be some in the World, to whom such a Passage as this may sufficiently evince the *Jus Divinum* of Singing-Boys.

De Fide Orthodoxâ, Lib. 3. cap. 10.

But to be as grave as the matter will allow me, I find it positively asserted, and that a great many Ages ago, that the Church-Pomp had its first rise from Heaven: For *Ignatius the third Bishop of Antioch in* Syria, *after the Apostle* Peter, *who also convers'd familiarly with the Apostles, saw the Blessed Spirits above, upon a certain time, singing Hymns to the Sacred Trinity alternately; and deliver'd to his Church that way of Singing, which he in a Vision had observ'd the Angels using: which Tradition was afterwards spread to all the Churches.* These are the words of as Antient an Author as *Socrates* the Church-Historian. *Nicephorus* * gives the same account of the Original of Alternate Singing. So also doth *George* of *Alexandria*, in the Life of St. *Chrysostom*, *Amalarius* [1], *Walafridus Strabo* [2], and sundry others. The Great *Baronius* [3] joins this Angelick Vision of *Ignatius*, with that of the Prophet *Isaiah* forementioned, and then triumphs in the fulness of his Proof. The learned Dr. *Beveridge* [4] also makes mention of this Vision, in such a way as makes it plainly appear that he lays a stress upon it, and looks upon his Cause as concern'd in it: and so did Dr. *Hammond* [5] before him. But Dr. *Comber* [6] openly espouses and defends it: *I know* (says he) *some take exceptions at the Vision of Angels, from whom he is said to learn this Method; but let it be noted, that this was an Age of Miracles, and that the Holy Scripture represents the*

Socrat. Eccl. Hist. Lib. 6. Cap. 8.

* Lib. 13. c. 8.
[1] De Eccl. Off. Lib. 4. Cap. 7.
[2] De Rebus Eccl. Ch. 25.
[3] Ad An. 60. N. 24.
[4] Cod. Can. Eccl. Prim. Vind. ac Illust. L. 3. c. 5. §. 8.
[5] *In his View of the Directory or Vindication of the Liturgy*, &c.
[6] *In his Original and Use of Liturgies*, 8°. p. 27.

in glorious Seraphims ſinging in this alternate manner: So that it is not unlikely that ſo great a Saint and Martyr might have ſuch a Viſion. —Do but obſerve how fond theſe Men are of Viſions! 'Tis pity but they ſhould have their fill of them: Let them turn to the *Golden Legend*, and they'l find a thouſand as pretty Tales as this. But in Anſwer to Dr. *Comber*, I reply, 'tis beyond all queſtion that *Ignatius* liv'd in an Age of Miracles: but that God by miraculous Viſions, after the Apoſtles deceaſe, ſettled any thing of publick Concern in the Church, as to which they had given no direction, is too dangerous a Notion to be admitted among Articles of Faith: the Apoſtolical Commiſſion was large and full; they were to fix the Church upon a ſtable bottom, both as to Doctrine and Practice; and to provide for the ſafe propagating Chriſtianity to after Ages. Had they inſtituted any Artificial Singing like that of our Cathedrals in worſhipping God, they might have bin ſafely appeal'd to about it, their Commiſſion would have born them out, there needed no Viſions to have eſtabliſh'd and made way for it: But ſuppoſing them to have bin altogether ſilent, to go to ſupply their defects by after Viſions, opens a door to great Extravagancies, and gives ſcope for the introduction of the weakeſt Dotages, ſhould but any have the Confidence to aſcribe them to a divine Original. *Ignatius* was indeed a great Saint, and famous Martyr; but it doth not thence follow that he muſt have ſuch a Viſion: Many a great Man hath had thoſe things father'd upon him, of which (could he have foreſeen them) he'd have diſcover'd his abhorrence. If this Story prove a Fiction, it reflects not upon *Ignatius*. *Socrates* is moſt bound to anſwer for it; for he firſt reports it: and he, if we have any regard to the Opinion of the great *Photius*, was not very accurate in his Notions, and may therefore very well be ſuppos'd weakly to have taken the matter upon truſt from others, without canvaſſing the truth of the Fact. Withal, 'tis obſervable that he firſt ſtarted the Notion of this Viſion in the year of Chriſt 440, above 300 years after *Ignatius*'s Death, which alone makes it very ſuſpicious, and weakens the Credit of it, there being no mention made of it by any of the Writers who went before him. The Doctor indeed gently touches upon the ſilence of *Theodoret*, (who was the elder Church-Hiſtorian of the two) and endeavours to excuſe it; ſaying it might proceed from his taking it for granted, and ſuppoſing it was generally own'd and known. But what room is there for ſuch a ſuppoſition, when the ſilence is ſo general? How often do our antienteſt Hiſtorians relate things leſs material, as generally

Cod. 28.

known as this could be? Why then ſhould ſo famous a Viſion, of ſuch importance, be overlook'd by all of them but *Socrates*, had they either heard of it, or thought it worth inſerting? Why particularly ſhould *Euſebius* be ſilent, who firſt collected the ſcatter'd Fragments of Church-Hiſtory? His Diligence was ſuch, that ſo remarkable a Paſſage as this could hardly have eſcap'd him; and ſuch was his readineſs to put together, whatſoever he met with that had any appearance of Antiquity, that had he heard of it he would ſcarce have baulkt it. His ſilence alone (to one that knows the Man) is a ſufficient Argument, that he had no notice of this Viſion: if ſo, how could it be ſo generally own'd and known as the Doctor ſuppoſes?

I'd e'en adviſe our Cathedraliſts therefore to be content to inſcribe their admired Service to a lower Original, and not to ſoar ſo high; to let the Angels alone, and to own it had its riſe from this Earth, where it hath more Admirers than I doubt it hath in the upper Regions. Here we ſhall ſtand upon a level, and may better ſee our way. I'll give you a brief view of their moſt applauded Humane Authorities, as I find them produc'd by their moſt celebrated Writers.

De vitâ contemplat.

They in the firſt place mightily boaſt of the Egyptian *Therapeutæ*, whoſe Manners and Cuſtoms are largely deſcrib'd by *Philo*, who among a great many other peculiarities, gives this Account of them: *That they had a Quire of two ſides, ſinging alternately; ſo that when one had begun to ſing, the reſt anſwer'd him, by repeating the end of the Verſes, in imitation of thoſe at the Red Sea.* *Euſebius* will needs have theſe *Therapeutæ* to have bin Chriſtians, and the Diſciples of St. *Mark*, who preach'd the Goſpel among the *Egyptians*. In them therefore, and their Practice, both Cardinal *Baronius*, and the three forementiond Doctors, *Hammond*, *Beveridge* and *Comber*, think they meet with an early authentick Proof of the Antiquity of the Cathedral way: The Narrative wherein this occurs, being written by *Philo* within 60 Years after the Birth of our Saviour. Now I'll ſuppoſe (tho I can as yet ſee no neceſſity to grant it) that theſe People did make a Chriſtian Profeſſion, yet am I to ſeek for a Proof that their Practice was binding; it being an evident revival of *Judaiſm*. The utmoſt this matter can amount to is this: that there were in *Philo*'s time a numerous party in and about *Alexandria*, of the Converts of St. *Mark*, who mixt Judaiſm and Chriſtianity together. This is not my Notion, but *Sozomen*'s the Hiſtorian; and I'll give it you in his words: ſpeak-

Hiſt. Eccleſ. Lib. 2. cap. 16, 17.

log of *Philo*'s *Therapeutæ* he declares, that *he looks upon him as thereby meaning those in his Days who of Hebrews were become Christians, who yet liv'd after the Jewish manner, and obserd their Rites.* This need not seem strange to any that know that there was in the Primitive Church, a sort of People called *Nazarenes* or *Nazarites*; who join'd Christ and *Moses*, the Law and Gospel, Baptism and Circumcision together. We have early intimations of such an inclination, in St. *Luke*'s Compendium of Church-History: and those who have bin at all conversant with the Accounts given of after-times, cannot but observe how mightily this inclination prevail'd among those Hebrews who embrac'd the Principles of the Christian Faith, who were very unwilling to be disswaded from their old Customs and Observances; of which the pompous way of their Temple-Worship was none of the least belov'd, or least considerable. Supposing these People Christians of this stamp, (and it's plain by the whole Series of *Philo*'s Discourse, and *Eusebius*'s after him, which give an Account of so many instances of plain *Judaism* retain'd amongst them, that they could be of no other) I can't see how much can be gain'd by them. For it can no more be groundedly concluded from their Practice, that the Antiphonal way of Singing was usual in publick Christian Worship in those days, or that the way of the Antient Temple was to be retain'd in Christian Churches; than it can from the Custom of a few Judaizers be inferr'd, that Circumcision was to be a standing Institution even under Christianity, and a discriminating badg as formerly. But after all, it's very justly questionable, whether or no these People were Christians even of this sortment. *Scaliger* asserts, (and brings a great many Arguments to prove) that they were *Essenes*. Our Countryman *Nicolas Fuller* is of the same Judgment. The great Oracle of the French Churches, the learned *Chamier*, proves the same largely. And *Valesius* also (who was of the opposite Communion) tho he doth not think them *Essenes*, yet in his Notes upon this part of *Eusebius*, by diverse Arguments proves that they were not Christians, and the like doth Dr. *Cave*: whose Judgment, where it thwarts so many Does of the Church, is with me as valuable as any Mans. Another ingenious Person of our own Nation also, who takes a great deal of pains to confute *Valesius*, and is very zealous for having them to be Christians, yet can make no more of them than converted *Essenes*, owning that they still retain'd their old Rites and Customs. If all this weakens not the force of this Allegation, 'twould to me

Soz. Hist. Eccl. Lib. 1. cap. 12.

Acts 15. 1, 8.

De Emend. Temp. Lib. 6. Miscel. l. 1. c. 3. Pansl. Cath. T. 3. L. 20. c. 22. §. 68, 69, 70. &c.

In his Life of St. Mark.

Tho. Bruno *his* Dissert. de Therapeut. adv. H. Vales.

be very strange: it hath not the face of an Argument left; for either these People were Christians, or mere *Jews*. Take which side you will, I am very indifferent; they are unfit Precedents for our Practice. If they were mere *Jews*, of the Sect of the *Essenes*, (as is asserted by sundry of the Learned) how are we concern'd in them? What have we to do with them? Which way can they satisfy us as to the Practice of the Christian Church? If they were Christians, they were but Judaizers: who corrupted our Religion by sundry unlawful and improper mixtures; were bitter enemies of the Converted *Gentiles*, and therefore very unfit Persons to be our Precedents. Their Practice should rather be us'd as a Caution to us, than urg'd as an Example for us to imitate.

Another Testimony I meet with commonly produc'd by the Idolizers of the Cathedral way, to prove its Antiquity, is a Passage in an Epistle of the younger *Pliny* to the Emperor *Trajan*, about the Primitive Christians; wherein (among other things) he tells him, *it was customary with them to meet together on a certain day before it was light, and sing together an Hymn to Christ as God*: which he thus expresses; *Carmenque Christo quasi Deo, dicere secum invicem*; the meaning whereof they will have to be this, *that they sang alternately, and by turns*, after the manner of the Quire. But methinks 'tis a little odd and unaccountable, that a Heathen should first take notice of this as a common Custom of the Christians, and that their own Writers for a long time after should pass it over silently, even when they were giving an Account of what related to their Worship, and often had so fair an Occasion to mention it. But waving this, I'll give you an instance of unfair dealing, in that great Patron of the Quire, the learned Dr. *Comber*. He urging this Passage of *Pliny* against his Antagonist, draws an Argument from the Phrase *Carmen Dicere*, in proof of the Hymn being in a set form of words, wherein I verily believe he hath the right of his side. To back his Assertion, he produces the Authority of the famous old *Gerard Vossius*; and presently after this argues: *Since it was sung alternately, it is certain it must be a prescribed Form*; when yet he overlooks what follows but a Leaf or two after in *Vossius*, when he is opening the sense of *Pliny*'s *secum invicem*; which he explains not by any thing of an alternation (which the Doctor thought fit to take for granted) but represents this as its meaning; that the Priest did not sing alone, but others also that join'd in Divine Worship, did by Singing [illegible]

C. Plin. Epist. Lib. 10. Ep. 94.

Of Liturgies, Oct. p. 23.

Vossii Comment. in Ep. Plinii de Christianis.

and quicken one another. So eaſy it is for a Man to take or leave what he apprehends is for or againſt him.

But two Conſiderations, ſo far as I can perceive, may ſufficiently clear this Paſſage of *Pliny*, to ſuch as are willing to receive ſatisfaction. *Firſt*, the ſignification of the word *invicem* is not univerſally the ſame. I pretend not to any great accuracy in Criticiſm; but as far as my inſight into the *Roman* Tongue will help me to diſcern, am of Opinion, that the ſenſe of this Particle varies, according as it ſtands in Conjunction. For as it ſometimes ſignifies, *one after another*, and *by courſe*; ſo doth it at other times, *again*; and in other Caſes it implies no more than either a *joint conſent in Action*, or *an accidental coincidence of Events*. Let *Laurentius Valla* here be conſulted, and others of the like Stamp, if there be leiſure and inclination. The moſt that can fairly be made of *ſecum invicem*, in the Paſſage referred to, is this; *that they ſang together, and with one conſent*. And therefore commend me to Dr. *Cave*, who tho no enemy to the Quire, yet was not for ſupporting it by a quibbling Criticiſm, but fairly renders this Paſſage thus: *they were wont upon a ſet ſolemn Day, to meet together before Sun riſe, and to ſing among themſelves an Hymn to Chriſt, as the God whom they worſhip'd.*

De Linguæ Lat. Elegantiâ, l. 2. c. 59.

In his Introduction to Vol. 1. of the Lives of the Primitive Fathers.

A ſecond thing to be noted is this, That the Roman Prieſts us'd to ſing alone in their moſt ſacred Solemnities; none bearing a part in the Service but themſelves: the *Carmen Saliare* (which was the moſt antient and celebrated of any) was wont to be ſung by the *Prieſts* of *Mars* in their particolour'd Coats, while they were dancing about the *Forum*; none joining with them in the Song but thoſe of the Fraternity. The caſe was the ſame in their other Songs of the ſame Nature. Becauſe therefore the Roman Prieſts were the only Singers in their Sacred Worſhip, did *Pliny* think it ſtrange to hear that among the Chriſtians all bore a part, and all the Aſſembly with joint Conſent and Harmony ſing their Hymn? And yet now alas among Chriſtians (pretending to be of the beſt Reformed Church in the World) do we find a body of Men that are grown weary of letting all God's Worſhippers bear a part in his Praiſe, and are better pleas'd with the Heathen Cuſtom, of confining it barely to the Prieſtly Fraternity, and their Attendants. And thus the World runs round.

Roſini Antiq. Rom. l. 3. c. 20.

The next Writer that comes in our way, produc'd in proof of the Antiquity of the Cathedral Service, by its Patrons and Votaries,

ries, is *Tertullian*; who flourish'd about the Year of Christ 190, in whom there occurs this Passage; *What shall she sing to her Husband, or her Husband to her?* I could not, I confess, forbear smiling to find Dr. *Comber*, when speaking of *Tertullian*, so gravely asserting that it appears from him that they then sang Psalms and Hymns alternately; and referring in the Margin only to this poor Passage. I am no great admirer of such sort of Proof; however shall scan it, and see what it amounts to: "The aim of *Tertul-*
" *lian*, in that second Book to his Wife, was to admonish her
" (supposing that she surviv'd him) to take heed of marrying a
" *Gentile*. He urges therefore upon her the Apostle's charge, to
" marry in the Lord, which believing Women could not be said
" to do, who link'd themselves with Heathens. He tells her that
" those who engag'd in such Marriages were to be debarr'd the
" Privilege of Christian Society; for that they could not with
" any convenience answer the demands of Christian Discipline,
" nor forbear exposing Divine things to contempt; nor avoid
" either the being infected with some idolatrous Leaven, or
" at least being diverted from those Sacred Engagements that
" became Christians. Among these he reckons singing the
" Praises of God, which is most undoubtedly a necessary Duty,
" and very advantageous, whether it be perform'd in Publick
" or Private. Now says *Tertullian*, how can a Man and Wife of such opposite Principles, as are those of Heathens and Christians, which run as wide as Heaven and Earth, join together in that Divine Employment? Let the Man set himself to sing, and he'll presently vent what the Wife abhors, and would not join with him in for all the World: Let the Wife on the other side attempt to sing the Christian Psalms and Hymns, and the Husband will storm, because he'll find contempt pour'd on the Objects of his Veneration. How can there be any compliance with the forementioned Charge of St. *Paul*, of *Teaching and Admonishing one another in Psalms and Hymns*, &c. which as it should be extended to all that are join'd in any thing of a Religious Society, so comes with a special force on such as are join'd together in so near a Relation, as that of Husband and Wife? But alas, so far are they from being capable of any Harmony in such an Engagement, that any attempts towards it would be likely to issue in Strife and Variance, and wretched Confusion. This Passage of *Tertullian* thus taken, runs smooth and even; is free from Difficulties, and needs no force, and is very apposite, and much to the purpose. But on the

ll. ad
em, L. 2.

ourse of
urgies, p.

the other ſide; it muſt be ſtrain'd and forc'd, before it can be pretended to do the Quire any Service; and after all is not very pertinent. In order to the making way for any other Gloſs, it muſt be ſuppos'd that 'tis either publick or private Singing between Husband and Wife, that is here intended; and either ſuppoſition hath its difficulties. If publick Singing be here referr'd to, and that in the alternate manner; then muſt it be ſuppos'd that there was a particular Addreſs of the Husband to the Wife, and Wife to the Husband, during the Service in Chriſtian Aſſemblies, which ſo unſuitable a Conjunction as he was ſpeaking of would prevent: But this were to aſſert what could not be prov'd, what we have no where any hint of, and that little to the ſervice of the Cauſe to be befriended; by reaſon it would bring in a ſet of Women-Singers into the Quire, which would not be much for its Reputation. On the other hand, if it were private Singing that *Tertullian* meant, (which ſeems much the moſt likely) then, if their not being able to ſing together, or to ſing to each other upon occaſion, for Excitation, or Exhilaration, won't ſatisfy as the ſenſe, but an Argument muſt hence be drawn for the publick Uſe of the Cathedral way in thoſe days, in order to its having any force, it muſt be ſuppos'd that every Man kept a Quire in his Houſe, to train up his Children and Servants for Choriſters for the Benefit of the Publick, and ſo divided them at the time of Worſhip into two oppoſite ſides, himſelf heading one, and his Wife the other: which is ſo large and wild a Suppoſition, that by virtue of the ſame Figure, I dare undertake any where almoſt to fetch Arguments for Proof, in whatſoever Cauſe I eſpouſe.

Theſe are the principal Authorities, to prove the Uſe of the Cathedral way in the three firſt Centuries, that are produc'd by its moſt ſenſible Patrons: But were I concern'd with them, I muſt declare I ſhould be aſham'd to claim ſo great Antiquity, if I could not better prove my Title. However there are others, who are no ſmall Friends to the Cauſe, who run yet lower, and urge the *Apoſtolical Conſtitutions*; wherein (under the preſcrib'd Order of Divine Worſhip) 'tis requir'd, that *after the two Leſſons, one ſhould ſing* David's *Hymns or Pſalms, and the People ſhould fall in with the extremes or ends of the Verſes.* And this would be to the purpoſe indeed, were thoſe *Conſtitutions* Authentick; but that they are ſo, is yet to be prov'd. *Du Pin* (tho a Romaniſt) is by evidence of Fact forc'd to declare the Author of them an *Impoſtor.* For that *tho he attempts to paſs for* Clement, *the Diſciple of the Apoſtles,*

Apoſt. Conſtit. l. 2. c. 57.

Pin Biblio. des Auteurs Ecclesiastiqu. Tom. pag. 15.

d. pag. 31.

Apostles, he yet ascribes to them all in common, and each in particular, sundry regulations no way agreeing to the Apostles; as concerning Churches built in the Form of Temples, Liturgies, the Ordination of Deacons, and Deaconesses; the Benediction of Oil and Water, and the like; which he declares he's satisfi'd were unknown in those early days. And afterwards he charges them with being infected with the Arian, and sundry other Errors; gives it as his Judgment that they did not appear till the 4th Century; and that they were often reform'd, chang'd, and augmented afterwards, according to the different Customs of Times and Countries. Cottelerius also declares he's far from thinking them Apostolical; and that he looks upon them as wretchedly interpolated, since they became first extant. Nay even Dr. Beveridge owns the same: and tho he discovers a much greater value for those suppositious Writings, than any unprejudic'd Person could think they deserve; yet freely declares they are so sadly mangled, that they are quite different from what they were when they first appear'd in the World. But I have oft wondred in my own Mind, why the Doctor thinks *L'Arroque* unworthy of a Reply, who in his Remarks upon him hath sufficiently evidenc'd his antedating them, when he so vehemently contends for their being extant before the Council of *Nice*. He that at this time of the day lays any stress upon these spurious *Constitutions* is not to be argued with: the like I say as to *Dionysius the Areopagite of the Hierarchy of the Church*, and other such Authors, out of whom Passages of the like nature are often cited; they are so generally esteem'd spurious by all that have any gust of Antiquity, and are so far from deserving regard, that they are not worth the mentioning.

Cottel. Jud. de Const. Apost.

Jud. de Canon. Apostol. c. 17.

Observationes in Annot. Beveregii in Can. S. Apost.

And now, *Sir*, let's consider how far we have advanc'd. It's requir'd by all the Rules of Reasoning, that he that affirms any thing dubious, should give good Proof of it before he can expect to gain credit to his Assertion. Those therefore who so positively affirm the Use of the Cathedral way of Worship, in the three first Centuries, must produce good Evidence; and if their proof be not cogent, there are good Grounds for a denial. The strongest Evidences that usually are produc'd, have bin consider'd and weigh'd; and (I think I may without Vanity say) prov'd weak and insufficient. Till therefore they either bring better, or better strengthen and support these, they can't reasonably refuse to allow us to withhold our Assent. The Negative is not in any Case equally capable of Proof with the Affirmative, supposing it true; and yet sometimes may be attended with strong Probabilities, the force of which is not

not eaſily avoided. And I think I am not deſtitute of Reaſon to aſſert that this is the caſe in the preſent Argument. For tho there's no poſſibility of demonſtrating that the Cathedral Service was not ſo Antient as is pretended, to thoſe who are unwilling to be convinc'd; yet are there ſundry things that make it probable, that the Antiquity aſcrib'd to it, is but imaginary and ſuppoſititious. And here I ſhould deſire that three things were conſider'd by thoſe who are open to Light.

Firſt, The State of the Church in the three firſt Centuries is not to be forgotten. Chriſtianity was then traduc'd, contemn'd, malign'd, and perſecuted, with the utmoſt Subtilty and Malice, Rage and Violence. The great work of its Votaries, was to defend its Principles by the ſtrength of their Writings; to wipe off its Reproach by the Holineſs of their Lives; and to bear Teſtimony to its Truth and Divinity, by their chearful Sufferings. The Circumſtances of Chriſtians were in thoſe early days ſo preſſing; ſo great were the hazards they daily ran, and the fatigues whereto they were expos'd, that it's ſcarce conceivable they ſhould have inclination, leiſure, or opportunity, to introduce ſo pompous a Worſhip as that of our Cathedrals. The privacy of their Meetings would not allow of any ſuch Magnificence, nor their ſtrait Confinements of ſuch Art and State. The whole contrivance of that ſort of Service ſhows it to be the work of Men at eaſe, and not under the Hatches, as it's well known Chriſtians generally were before the days of *Conſtantine*.

Secondly, The ſilence of thoſe Primitive Writers who would have bin moſt likely to have mention'd it, is not to be overlook'd. *Juſtin Martyr*, in his particular Account of the Chriſtian Worſhip in his time, mentions their praiſing God heartily and chearfully, but gives not the leaſt intimation of any Pomp or Art in that part of the Service. *Irenæus*, *Clemens* of *Alexandria*, and *Origen* are altogether ſilent as to the Cathedral Service. The diligent and induſtrious Dr. *Comber* (who takes all Occaſions, jointly with Liturgies, to recommend alternate Singing after the manner of the Quire, as of equal Antiquity) would hardly have overlook'd it, could he have met with any thing in them to the purpoſe. *Tertullian* often mentions the ſinging of Pſalms in the Lord's Days Solemnities, in the publick Aſſemblies: but not a word is produc'd from him as to the Alternate way, ſaving the foremention'd Paſſage of his, which won't much ſerve the Cauſe. The like may be ſaid as to others their Contemporaries. Now

In Apologiâ ſecundâ.

Tertul. de Animâ cap. 9. & Apolog. c. 2. & cap. 39.

what Account can be given of this general Silence, were the Cathedral Service known in those early Ages? It can't be said they conceal'd it for the same reason as they did many of their Sacred Mysteries; for it would not hold in this case. What they did keep secret, and upon reserve, was with a design to heighten Veneration and prevent Contempt; (tho I must confess that is an Artifice of which I should not be over fond) But how the concealing this Pompous sort of Service could be conceiv'd likely to guard against dislike and contempt, I can't imagine: its airiness, and gaudiness, and fancifulness, would have bin much more likely to have procur'd it Respect and Approbation among both the ceremonious *Jews*, and superstitious *Gentiles*, supposing it had bin generally known and publish'd. Their Ignorance of it, and utter unacquaintedness with it, will to any one who fairly considers Circumstances, appear a much more probable Cause of their silence concerning it.

Thirdly, The solemn Dedication of Churches in those Halcyon days, which attended the Emperor *Constantine*'s embracing the Christian Faith, deserves also a Remark. To have the Emperor of their side, was a surprising Blessing to the poor Christians, who had gone through so many Persecutions: they hardly knew how to contain themselves for Joy, being as it were on a sudden rais'd from the Dead. They had now an Opportunity of shewing themselves to the World to the best Advantage, and they were not backward to improve it. Among other particulars, they dedicated their publick Churches in all parts with great Joyfulness and Festivity; nothing was wanting that could be thought of that might add to the Pomp and Magnificence of those Solemnities: and had any such sort of Singing as that of the Quire, bin then ever heard of or us'd among Christians, we have a great deal of reason to suppose we should have met with it upon those Occasions; or that if it was omitted in one place, it would have bin found in another: whereas there appears not the least footstep of any such thing to be trac'd. *Eusebius* is here very large in his Accounts. In the general he tells us *that all with one Soul, and as Consent, sang Hymns to God; loudly ecchoʼd his Praise in Psalms; heard the other divinely inspirʼd Writings, and receivʼd the Symbols of our Redeemer's Passion; and that the several Presidents of the Churches made Panegyrical Orations, with all the Eloquence of Joy whereof they were capable.* But he gives not the least hint of any Antiphonal Singing, in parts, and by turns, with Musical Symphony, in a Theatrical

Hist. Eccles. lib. 10. cap. 3.

trical way. The Oration at the Dedication of the Church of *Tyre*, gives an Account of the Form and Parts of that Edifice (which were very different from what had before bin uſual among Chriſtians) and ſundry other particularities: but makes not the leaſt mention of any thing like our Cathedral Service, as then in uſe; for which there was ſcope ſufficient. At the Dedication of the Church at *Jeruſalem*, there was (by virtue of *Conſtantine*'s Letter) a Convention of about ſixty Biſhops, who were ordered upon this Occaſion to adjourn thither from the City of *Tyre*; where they were met in Council about the Affair of the great *Athanaſius*. The Ceremonies us'd upon that occaſion were peculiarly pompous, and a famous Oration was made by *Euſebius*, which is yet extant at the cloſe of his Eccleſiaſtical Hiſtory: But ſtill there's no mention of that ſort of Service, which hath ſo ingroſs'd the Affections of our Cathedraliſts. *Finally*, The ſame Author gives us alſo a large Account of the Funerals of this Famous firſt Chriſtian Emperor, tells us of the Reception of his Corps by the Clergy in a body, at the Church of the Apoſtles; takes notice of the mournfulneſs of the Solemnity, their ſorrowful Praying on that Occaſion, and the Praiſes that were univerſally given to the Deceaſed; but is altogether ſilent as to any ſuch Ceremonies, as are in our Days uſual, when the Relicks of Perſons of Note and Eminence are depoſited in our Cathedrals. Which Conſiderations put together, make it highly probable that the Cathedral Service came not into the Church, till after *Conſtantine* left the World; which was in the 337th Year of Chriſt.

Cap. 4.

Euſ. de Vit. Conſtant. l. 4. c. 43, 44, 45.

Cap. 70, 71.

Matters being thus far clear'd, I'll now proceed to give you the beſt Account I am able, of the true Riſe of that way of Worſhip, which our Cathedraliſts ſo much extol; and in compariſon whereof they reckon the Worſhip of thoſe who ſtatedly wait on God like honeſt Chriſtians in their Pariſh Churches, to be poor, mean, and beggarly. I'll omit no material Circumſtances I have met with in the narrow compaſs of my Reading, which may either ſeem to make for their Cauſe, or help to afford any Light; and make a few Reflections as I go along, that I mayn't ſeem heavy, flat and tedious.

After all the ſtir that hath bin made, the firſt certain hint that can be fix'd on in Eccleſiaſtical Antiquity, of Cathedral Chanting, is in the Church of *Antioch*, during the Adminiſtration of *Leontius*, who was advanc'd to that See *A. C.* 347. and continued in it till the Year 356. in which interval of time, *Flavianus* (who

was afterwards himſelf advanc'd to this See) and *Diodorus* (afterwards Biſhop of *Tarſus*) *divided the Quire into two Parts, and made them ſing the Pſalms of* David *alternately: which Cuſtom* (ſaith *Theodoret*) *began firſt at* Antioch, *and thence ſpread it ſelf to other places; and reach'd even to the ends of the World.* *Leontius* the Biſhop was an *Arian*, and ſubtilly undermin'd the *Nicene Faith*; of which *Flavianus* and *Diodorus* ſet up for zealous Defenders. They were both engag'd in a Monaſtick Life, and in great repute for Piety; and therefore altho (as the Hiſtorian obſerves) they were as yet mere Laymen, and not in Orders, yet they had a great many Followers; and their way of Antiphonal Singing, which they ſet up in ſeparate Aſſemblies, was generally ſo taking, that they drew all the People from *Leontius* their Biſhop, who thereupon deſir'd them to bring their new faſhion Service into the Church. So that this ſo much admir'd Service, was firſt ſet on foot in order to the enticing People from the *Arians*, to pleaſe the Mob, and keep them from running after thoſe by whom they'd be ſeduc'd. But for my part I muſt declare I am rather for leaving thoſe Arts and Shifts to perſons of Sectarian Principles: Let Truth make its own way, I can't apprehend it any great Service to it, to gain it Proſelytes by any ſuch enticing Methods. And I very much queſtion, whether thoſe who are attracted merely by the pompouſneſs of Worſhip, are like to prove any great Credit to the party they fall in with. However, thus ſtands Fact. At *Antioch* where Perſons were firſt call'd Chriſtians, were Chriſtians firſt taught to turn the Church into a Stage. There was that way of Singing firſt introduc'd, which hath turn'd the Worſhip of God into an artificial contrivance; and which, ſhould it univerſally prevail, would transform Religion into mere Mechaniſm. Of this *Flavianus* was the great occaſion. A Man who ſtands branded in Eccleſiaſtick Hiſtory, for the breach of a moſt ſolemn Oath, whereby (for the preventing a perpetual Schiſm in the Church of *Antioch*) he and five more ſtood bound, not to covet the Biſhoprick of that See, and not to accept it altho elected, while *Paulinus* and *Meletius* were alive: Notwithſtanding which Oath, he after the Death of *Meletius*, in oppoſition to *Paulinus*, (who yet ſurviv'd) readily accepted the Biſhoprick when 'twas offer'd him: for which notorious Perjury, he was deſervedly deteſted by all the Weſtern Biſhops. I know 'tis pleaded on his behalf, that he herein acted with the Advice and Approbation of a Synod of the Biſhops of the Eaſt, who unanimouſly elected him, when they were met together

Theod. Hiſt. Eccl. Lib. 2. cap. 24.

Sozom. Hiſt. Eccl. Lib. 7. cap. 3. c. 11.

gether in Council at *Conſtantinople*. But that only proves that thoſe who poſſeſt the chief Dignities of the Church, began betimes to act more out of Intereſt than a Principle of Conſcience, (of which there are alas but too many inſtances) but proves not the lawfulneſs of the Fact. Our Cathedraliſts have no great Cauſe to be proud of their Founder, who in ſo ſcandalous a manner mounted the Epiſcopal Throne. However, tho he was looſe in his Morals, yet he was very fond of Ceremonials: an unhappy Conjunction! too oft to be met with in every Age! He ſeems to have reckon'd his Anthems a ſort of Magical Charms, proper to appeaſe both God and Man. We meet with a remarkable inſtance of his reliance upon their Virtue, when he was ſent as a publick Agent to the Emperor *Theodoſius*. The Caſe was this: The City of *Antioch* had by a popular Sedition incurr'd the Emperor's Diſpleaſure, and was afraid of the conſequences. Whereupon *Flavianus* was by common Conſent, deputed as their Mediator with him, to pacify his Anger, and implore their Pardon. He undertakes the Buſineſs, and thinking nothing could be more ſoftning than his belov'd Church-Muſick, ordered the uſual Service to be ſung before the Emperor at his Table, and for once makes a Quire of the Imperial Dining-room. The Deſign ſucceeded, the Emperor took Pity, he wept moſt tenderly, and the City was receiv'd into Favour. Behold here an inſtance of the charming Power of the Cathedral Service! How could the *Antiochians* forbear having a mighty Eſteem and Reverence for their late Invention, which they found had ſuch a melting Virtue! How eaſily were they perſwaded that it was likely to be as moving to God, as they found it had bin to Man! What wonder then, that this City was ſo fond of Alternate Singing! No where do we hear ſo much of it as there. In the days of the Emperor *Julian*, they convey'd the Corps of St. *Babylas* the Martyr, from *Daphne* (where the Dæmon could not bear his Neighbourhood) and carri'd it through their City in Triumph, ſinging all the way they went with great Joy, after the manner of the Quire; the whole Company joining in this reſponſe, at every Period, *Confounded be all they that worſhip Graven Images*. The ſame ſort of Reception they gave alſo in the Reign of *Theodoſius*, to the Corps of their Biſhop *Meletius*, which was depoſited near that of St. *Babylas*. And many other ways did they ſhow their fondneſs of it. The prevalence of Antiphonal Singing in ſuch a City as *Antioch*, which was the Metropolis of *Syria*,

Sozom. Hiſt. Eccl. l. 7. c. 23.

Socrat. Eccl. Hiſt. l. 3. c. 18. Theod. lib. 3. c. 10.

Soz. Hiſt. Eccl. l. 7. c. 10.

Syria, a place of great resort, and of a mighty Influence, much further'd its spreading in other Parts.

Concil. Laod. Can. 15. Between the year of Christ 360, and 370, there was a Council held in the City of *Laodicea*, upon what Occasion is not now certainly known. Among other things 'twas then determin'd, that *there should be Canonical Singers, and that they should sing out of Written Books, and that none else should sing in the Church.* Who had the framing of these Canons, and what Bishops met in this Council, I cannot find out; but meet with this Reason assign'd by *Baronius*, for this particular Canon about Singers: *because* (saith he) *when the People and Clergy sang promiscuously, through the unskilfulness of the Singers it oft fell out, that by the disorderly sound of Voices, the diversity marr'd that harmonious Singing, which was congruous to the Churches Dignity: therefore it was prohibited the People in the Church; and ordered that none should sing, but those unto whom this Work was assign'd. Zonaras* also intimates as much, telling us that these Canonical Singers were reckon'd a part of the Clergy. But *Balsamon* (who in Dr. *Cave*'s Judgment was the best skill'd in the Ecclesiastical Canons, of any that ever *Greece* produc'd) tells us in his *Scholia*, that *before the* Laodicean *Council, the Laity would many times in contempt of the Clergy, begin such Hymns and Songs in the Church as were crude and unusual: to obviate which practice it was ordered in that Canon, that none should begin to sing but those that were appointed, and whose Office it was: Not but that the Laity might follow them, and sing with them in the whole Service, which he declares was not intended to be thereby prohibited.* So that the true meaning of this celebrated Canon is no more than this, that the Clerks in all the Churches should read the Psalms, out of a Psalm Book; and none else should presume to begin a Hymn, or set a Tune but they. Whence it appears to me a better Evidence of the Antiquity of *Parish Clerks*, than of the extent of the Cathedral Service, on the behalf whereof 'tis commonly produc'd.

Baron. ad An. 60. N. 28.

Hist. Literaria, Pars 1. p. 687.

But whatever becomes of the *Laodicean* Canon, great boasts are made of the Patronage of three most celebrated Names, *viz.* St. *Basil*, St. *Ambrose*, and St. *Chrysostom*, who were all fond of the Quire; recommended, spread, and diffus'd the new Mode of Service, wheresoever they had an influence, and handed it down to Posterity with Encomiums. Be it so, must we therefore presently be frighten'd out of our Wits? Are they too eminent to have their Sentiments canvass'd, and their Actions scann'd? Is a thing

thing therefore true becauſe they ſaid it, therefore good and laudable becauſe they did it? For my part I think I have them in a juſt Veneration, and yet cannot reach ſuch a pitch of Complaiſance. I can't be content to part with my own Eyes, for the uſe of other Mens, were they ever ſo eminent, great or good. I find the beſt have ſo many failures, that I can't ſatisfy my ſelf to follow any blindfold, for fear they ſhould lead me into a Ditch. None that are at all vers'd in Antiquity, can be ignorant, that towards the latter end of the *4th* Century, and the beginning of the fifth, through the ignorance of ſome, the negligence of others, the haughtineſs and ſtiffneſs of others, and a ſpreading love of Pomp and Magnificence, a variety of Corruptions crept into the Church, which in proceſs of time roſe to a far greater height, than could have bin at firſt imagin'd by thoſe who had the greateſt hand in introducing them. Witneſs the undue admiration of Celibacy, the fondneſs of Reliques and Pilgrimages, the Invocation of Saints, the ſetting up Images in Churches, the overgreat Veneration of the Croſs, and Prayers for the Dead; which about this time had their riſe. Why mayn't the Service of the Quire, which gain'd ſo much about this time, be of this number; when, how honeſt and laudable ſoever were the intentions of its firſt Patrons and Abettors, it came by degrees to be ſo manag'd, as to render the Divine Worſhip perfectly ridiculous; and would, if it univerſally prevail'd, bid fair for the juſtling real Worſhip out of the World? However I can't paſs by the three Perſons mention'd without a few Remarks.

As for St. *Baſil*, he had part of his Education at *Antioch*; he was there made Deacon by *Meletius*; was a continual Spectator of the pompous Worſhip of the Quire, which was there ſo much in vogue; he was us'd to it, and it ſuted his Genius, and thereupon he reſolv'd to ſpread it. At the ſame time, being himſelf a great Aſcetick, mighty fond of Retirement, and full of Zeal, he ſet up for a Patron of the Monaſtick Life, for which he was the firſt who fixt Laws and Conſtitutions to be propagated to Poſterity: but they muſt have much worſe thoughts of ſo great a Man than I can give way to, who imagine he would have bin fond either of one or t'other, could he have foreſeen the Damage they'd have done to real Religion in after-times. 'Tis however obſervable that he was reckon'd an Innovator, and charg'd as an introducer of Novelties, in ſetting up Monachiſm,

Monachism, and being so fond of the new way of Psalmody, and so industrious in spreading it: He was even then forc'd to apo-
Basilii Ep. 63. logize for himself. And his Apology (in an Epistle to the *Neocæsarean* Clergy, still extant) was indeed (like the Man) very warm and vehement. "As for his forming Men into a Monastick Life, he declares he was so far from reckoning it a fault, "that he thought it to be his Glory, and the great Business of "his Life: and he fetches Precedents out of *Egypt* and *Palæstine*. "And as for the new way of Psalmody, at which they were "offended, he declares 'twas now become a common practice in "the Christian Church; the People rising before day, and going "to Church; where having made their Confessions and Prayers, "they proceeded to the Singing of Psalms, in which Holy Exercise, the Quire being divided into two Parts, mutually answer'd "one another, the *Præcentor* beginning, and the rest following "after. And tells them that if this were a fault, they must "blame many pious and good Men in *Egypt* and *Libya*, and *Thebais*; in *Palæstine*, *Arabia*, *Phœnicia* and *Syria*, and many other "places. They objected against him, that 'twas not thus in the "time of their Bishop *Gregory Thaumaturgus*, for whom they had "a great Veneration. He answers, that neither were the Litanies then us'd known in his time. But that methinks is no Argument, but that both that sort of Psalmody and the Litanies too, might be novel Inventions. "Withal, he accuses them "of not following their admir'd *Gregory* in other things; and "therefore charges them with straining at a Gnat, while they "swallow'd a Camel, in that they in the mean time made such "a noise about his Psalmody. But how could their being guilty of other faults, make them incapable of being in the right, in their opposing the Service of the Quire as a Novelty? Nay rather his inability to produce Evidence of the Antiquity of that which they oppos'd as an Innovation, (which appears from his not having done it) shows that they were herein in the right: and his diverting thence to other things, looks very like his seeking for a subterfuge. After all, St. *Basil* was a great Man; and yet 'tis well known, that tho he made so strict a profession of Humility, and had spent so much time in learning Mortification, he was as little able to bear a Contradiction as his Neighbours.

From him I pass to St. *Ambrose*, who was on a sudden translated from the Civil Tribunal to the Episcopal Throne; and who was the

the first that brought the Antiphonal way of Singing into the Western Parts, as is expressly asserted by St. *Austin*, *Isidore Hispalensis*, and sundry others. He was a considerable Man in his time, but abundantly more so on the account of his Gravity, Simplicity, and Piety, than his Depth and Solidity: he was too great an admirer of the *Greeks*, whom he follow'd blindfold. It hath long since bin observ'd of him by St. *Jerom*, that he often transcribes the Greek Fathers in his Writings; no wonder therefore if he follow'd them in Ritual matters. He had particularly a great Veneration for St. *Basil*, in imitation of whom he introduc'd the Service of the Quire at *Milan*; of which we have this Account. "When he was persecuted by the Empress *Justina*, the People "watch'd all Night in the Church; and then he appointed that "Psalms and Hymns should be sung, after the manner of the "Oriental Countries, lest the People should pine away with the "tediousness of Sorrow; and from that time forward the Cus-"tom was retain'd, and spread to all the Western Parts. But I must be excus'd if I can't lay so great a stress on this honest Father's Judgment and Practice, as some others may do: for a Visionary Inclination is with me, wherever I meet with it, a great mark of weakness. Of this we have in him a notorious Instance, in one of the most remarkable Passages of his Life; which relates to his management of the Relicks of St. *Gervasius*, and St. *Protasius*; of which he himself gives this Account: "Having built a Church in "the City of *Milan*, he was desir'd to Consecrate it in the same "manner as he had done the Roman Church, (*i. e.* another "Church that was near the Roman Gate.) He promis'd it, provid-"ed he found any Relicks: and thereupon got some Officers to "dig about the Rails that encompass'd the Tombs of St. *Felix* "and St. *Nabor* the Martyrs. Digging, they found the Bodies of "two proper Persons besprinkled with Blood, which with great "Solemnity were carried and interr'd in the new-built Church, "after having wrought a great many miraculous Cures. In his two Sermons which he preach'd upon this Occasion, (which I'd commend to the perusal of all those who reckon Things and Sentiments must, if Antient, be good of course) he tells his Hearers, that these were the Bodies of St. *Gervasius*, and *Protasius*. And tho he did not think it necessary to acquaint them how he came to know so much, yet St. *Austin* (who was at that time at *Milan*) tells us he had his Intelligence in a Vision. For my part, I'm

Confess. l. 9. c. 7.

De Eccl. Off. l. 1. c. 7.

Ambrosii Lit. 22.

Confess. l. 9. c. 7.

clearly for plain ground, for I find Precipices dangerous. Once admit Visions in the Case of *Relicks*, and I see no reason why they should be refus'd on the behalf of *Transubstantiation*, or any other Dotage. If we have *a sure Word of Prophecy*, let us stick to it. Should a Man bring his Visions into the Pulpit in our times, either in the Court, City, or University, he'd at once forfeit whatever Reputation he was master of. And why we should give a Letter of Licence to an Antient, and deny it to a Modern Preacher, I can't imagine. In a word, I honour the Piety of St. *Ambrose*; yet cannot but be loth to admit him a Precedent, where any thing dubious is under Consideration: for I am satisfi'd we have many an honest Country Parson, that is able to see as far as he.

The third admir'd Patron is the great St. *Chrysostom*, concerning whom 'tis to be observ'd, that he was born and bred at *Antioch*, where we have found the Cathedral Chanting was first introduc'd. He was made a Deacon there by *Meletius*, and afterwards a Presbyter by *Flavianus* (the Founder of the Service) of whom he is said to have bin a great admirer: So that he imbib'd the love of Antiphonal Singing, almost with his Mother's Milk, and was all along bred up in the Use of it: and he must be altogether unacquainted with humane Nature, who knows not the Force and Power of Education. When he was once advanc'd to the See of *Constantinople*, he soon found occasion to introduce the Antiochian Custom. Historians relate it thus: "The *Arians* in
Socrat. l. 6. c. 8.
Sozom. l. 8. c. 8.
" that City were grown very insolent: They kept their Conventicles out of Town, but were wont upon Saturdays and Sun-
" days, (which were constant times for the Publick Assemblies) to
" come within the City; and dividing themselves into Companies,
" they walk'd about the Publick Portico's, singing as they went
" along Hymns compos'd in defence of their own Principles, one
" part responding to the other; adding petulant Reflections on
" the Catholicks. Thus they did the greatest part of the Night,
" and early the next Morning they march'd through the heart of
" the City, singing their Antiphonal Hymns, and so went out to
" their own Meeting-house. St. *Chrysostom* in opposition to them,
" deliver'd Hymns to some of his People, to be sung in the Night
" in the same manner: and that the business might be manag'd
" with the greater Pomp and Solemnity, procur'd Crosses of Sil-
" ver to be made at the Empresses Charge; and order'd that they
" should

" ſhould have lighted Torches born before them, and got *Briſo* the " Empreſſes own Eunuch, as *Præcentor*, to walk before the Com- " pany: which was the occaſion of a great Scuffle and Sedition in " the City, that iſſu'd in the utter Expulſion of the *Arians*. But *this way of Singing thus introduc'd, was* (as *Sozomen* obſerves) *us'd at* Conſtantinople *from that day forward.* Which is to me a plain Argument that it was not introduc'd there before; for otherwiſe he'd hardly have taken ſuch particular notice of it. However, it had not bin long there, before it was manag'd in ſo unſeemly a manner, as made the good Man who firſt brought it in, perfectly aſham'd: For the Singers affected ſuch mimical Geſtures, and boiſterous Clamors, as turn'd the Church into a mere Stage: Whereupon he with great Vehemence, Warmth, and Gravity reproves them: " Telling them that their rude Voices, which gave an un- " certain ſound, rather became Theatres than the Church of God; " becauſe they were borrow'd from thence, and were unſeemly " for the Church, in which all things are to be done with Reve- " rence, becauſe of his tremendous Preſence, who obſerves the " Motion of every one there: yea he declares he reckons thoſe " rude Voices in Singing, for tokens of an uncompoſed Mind; " which declare that Men are rather mad, than humbly confeſſing " their Sins to God, and with a becoming lowlineſs, begging his " Pardon for them. Which was a ſort of a retractation of his former Fact, when he ſaw the Profaneneſs to which it gave occaſion; and intimates an abatement of his fondneſs for the Cathedral Service, when he found how much Religion, and the Worſhip of God was like to ſuffer by it. We may very well conclude, that the ſame fervent Piety and Zeal for God, could he have known the Miſchief it occaſion'd in ſucceeding Ages, would have made him as forward to throw it out, as ever he was to bring it in. Upon the whole, there's no great room for boaſting of theſe three Patrons; for the firſt was reputed an Innovator in that very reſpect, wherein our Cathedraliſts urge his Authority: The ſecond in things of this nature, made more uſe of other Mens Eyes than his own: and the third in a little time ſaw cauſe to repent his forwardneſs in that for which they commend him; and in effect retracted it.

Chryſoſt. Hom. 1. de Verb. Iſaiæ 1. 5. p. 128.

Thus I have given you a brief View of the firſt Riſe of Antiphonal Singing, at *Antioch*, at *Cæſarea*, and *Conſtantinople* in the Eaſt; and at *Milan* in the Weſt: whence by degrees it was ſpread

to other places. You may perhaps wonder, I have not in all this time brought it to *Rome*, where there was from the firſt Riſe of Chriſtianity, a great fondneſs of Pomp and Magnificence obſervable, and a forwardneſs to outdo all other Churches. But the truth of it is, I am for dealing impartially: *Rome* hath enough in all reaſon to anſwer for, it need not be charg'd falſly. Other Cities were before it in the time of admitting the Cathedral Service: but when once it was receiv'd there, it was quickly ſo improv'd that no time ſeem'd loſt, while it remain'd unknown. If we'll believe the *Pontifical*, 'twas Pope *Damaſus* who firſt ordain'd that Pſalms ſhould be ſung both Day and Night by the Clergy. There is in St. *Jerom*'s Works a Letter of this Pope, *wherein he deſires him to ſend him an Account of the* Grecian *manner of Singing; and he gives this Reaſon, becauſe it was not as yet us'd amongſt them, neither was the Grace of an Hymn known in their Mouth.* *Baronius* calls the truth of this Epiſtle into queſtion; but the *Pontifical* aſſerts, and gives Credit to it. In his time therefore, that is about the Year of Chriſt 380, Antiphonal Singing was brought in at *Rome* alſo. And there it was ſo cultivated, that it made mighty advances under the conduct of ſeveral Popes ſucceſſively; till at length it became as hard a matter for any one to manage a Part in the Quire, as on the Stage; nay requir'd more time and pains for a Perſon to learn to ſing the Praiſes of God in the Church, than to ſing in a Theatre.

Conc. T. 1. p. 496.

Should I pretend to give you an Account of the ſeveral Emendations, Augmentations, and gradual Alterations, of the Cathedral Service in the Roman hands, I ſhould ſoon expatiate beyond the bounds of a Letter, and therefore I'll forbear; and only obſerve that in the time of *Gregory* the Great, (that is, about the Year of Chriſt 620) it was brought to Perfection; and thence-forward call'd *Cantus Gregorianus*, in Engliſh the Gregorian *Cant.* He ſent it into our Nation by his Truſty Emiſſary *Auſtin* the Monk, who found ſuch a ſtiffneſs among the Britiſh Clergy, that he was quite at a loſs: they were not to be perſwaded to forſake their own Rites of Worſhip, and receive the Romiſh Trumpery, and among others things their new model'd, and much admir'd Cathedral Service; whereupon he was the Occaſion of the ſlaughter of twelve hundred of them at once, being reſolv'd they ſhould pay dear for their unmuſical Diſpoſition. One would think this ſhould be but a poor encouragement to the Survivors, to dance after his Pipe! And

Bede Hiſt. Eccl. l. 2. c. 2.

that the Remembrance of it ſhould damp our preſent Clergy in their moſt pompous Service, and abate their fondneſs of the Quire, which was in this Iſland founded in ſo much Blood! Our old *Britans* however for a good while after kept their ground; tho *Auſtin* had got the better of them they would not yield: they would not conform to the Roman Cuſtom, ſo much as in the time of celebrating the Paſchal Solemnity; much leſs would they comply in changing that plain and ſimple manner of Divine Worſhip which prevail'd among them, for a Gaudy, Pompous, and Theatrical ſort of Worſhip, which was all made up of Art and Shew. But about the year of Chriſt 670, Pope *Vitalian* ſent *Theodore* a Grecian into *England*, to fill up the Vacant See of *Canterbury*; who by his Subtilty and Artifice outwitted the poor *Brittans*, to the full ſatisfaction of thoſe who employ'd him. He held a Synod at *Hartford*, wherein the *Eaſter* Controverſy was ſettled to the Pope's Mind, and the way pav'd for the introduction of the Cathedral Service with all its Pomp. To this Pope *Vitalian*, to whom our Nation is oblig'd for this Archbiſhop *Theodore*, muſt we pay our Acknowledgments alſo for *Organs* in Divine Worſhip; of which (if *Platina* be to be credited) he was the firſt introducer.—Some time after, when *Agatho* was in the Pontifical Chair, *Benedict*, who had built a Monaſtery here in *Britain*, went to *Rome* to be confirm'd in the honour of his Abbacy. He was kindly receiv'd, and the Pope ſent one *John* (who was chief Singer at St. *Peters* in *Rome*, and Abbot of the Monaſtery of St. *Martin*) back along with him; who introduc'd into his new built Monaſtery, the whole Service that was us'd at St. *Peter's*, and taught his Singers the art of Chanting, in conformity to the Roman Method. This was about the year of Chriſt 679; which is the earlieſt certain date of the Cathedral Service in this our Land. Our *Brittans* had for ſome Ages worſhip'd God acceptably enough without it, and might have continued ſo to do had they never known it. But *Rome* had then ſet up for the Mother-Church, and with great zeal ſpread an Uniformity of Service among all her reputed Daughters; till in proceſs of time ſhe had made them all as bad as her ſelf.

Spelman. Concil.

Platina in vitâ Vitaliani.

Baron. ad An. 679. N. 10.

But *France* was not even yet conformable: Pope *Hadrian* therefore took the Advantage of the Obligation he had laid on *Charles the Great*, by making him Emperor of the Weſt, in order to the engaging him to introduce the Gregorian *Cant* into the *Gallick* Church. About which *Baronius* gives us this memorable Paſſage:

"In

Baron. ad An. 787. N. 106. "In the Year 787, the Emperor kept his *Easter* with Pope *Hadrian* at *Rome*; and in those days of Festivity there arose a great "Contention between the Singers of the *French* and *Roman* sort. "The *French* pretended to sing more gravely and decently; the "*Romans* more melodiously and artificially; and each mightily "undervalu'd the other. The Emperor yielded to the Pope, and "made his own Servants truckle; and thereupon carry'd back "with him *Theodore* and *Benedict* (two expert Roman Singers) "to instruct his Countrymen. The Pope also gave him the *Roman Antiphonary*, which he promis'd should be generally us'd in "his Dominions. And upon his return into *France*, he plac'd one "of these Artists in the City of *Metz*; ordering that the Singers should from all the Cities of *France*, repair thither to him to "learn his Art of Singing, and playing on the Organs. And thus you see (in part) how the Cathedral Service spread in these Western Parts, by means of the Pope of *Rome*, who had then set up for Administrator General of the Kingdom of Christ.

I'll forbear troubling you with the various Constitutions of several National Councils about this sort of Service, lest I trespass upon your Patience: tho if they were consulted (I find by sundry instances) they would discover a sense even among the Clergy, as bad as 'twas, of the Corruptions which prevail'd in it. But in lieu of it, I'll give you the Censures of sundry particular Persons of Note and Eminence all along in the Church.

Of Liturgies, Oct. p. 88. Dr. *Comber* in the heat of his Zeal for the Service of the Quire, positively asserts, that no Christians, before our *Dissenters* appear'd, ever found any fault with it. As for the *Dissenters*, I undertake not their Patronage; tho this I'll venture to say for them, that the most rational and solid of them (with whom I have had any Converse) lay a greater stress on the Objections to which our *Constitution* is liable, than those that may be started against our *Mode of Worship* in our Parish Churches. But as for the Worship of our Cathedrals, there are a great many who never deserted the Communion of the Church, nor never intended it, who are as much against it as any of the Dissenters. And, but that I a little know the World, it would have amaz'd me, that a Man so conversant with Books as Dr. *Comber*, should pretend the Objections against it are of late Date: for alas it hath met with opposition ever since it appear'd in the World, and bin objected against in every Age. I'll mention a few Instances of many.

The

The *Neocæſarean* Clergy (abovemention'd) excepted againſt it as a Novelty, when it was ſo induſtriouſly ſpread by St. *Baſil*; and that not many Years after its firſt appearance.

St. *Auſtin* (when his Mind was calm) was much afraid of it. I know indeed there is a Paſſage of his often made uſe of in favour of the Quire; and it can't be deni'd but he once commended it. For ſpeaking of the firſt Introduction of Antiphonal Singing at *Milan*, at which he was preſent, he thus expreſſes himſelf: "How "abundantly did I weep before God, to hear thoſe Hymns of "thine; being touch'd to the very quick by the Voices of thy "ſweet Church-Song! The Voices flow'd into my Ears, and thy "Truth pleaſingly diſtill'd into my Heart, which caus'd the Af- "fections of my Devotion to overflow, and my Tears to run "over; and happy did I find my ſelf therein. This was his firſt Apprehenſion before he had weigh'd matters in an even ballance. But St. *Auſtin* was not aſham'd to change his Judgment; witneſs his *Book of Retractations*. He at firſt miſtook the natural workings of his Paſſions, thrô the influence of Muſick, for the fervent workings of a vigorous Devotion: (a common miſtake I doubt among the frequenters of Cathedrals!) But when he came to himſelf, he ſaw his danger: "and thereupon cenſur'd himſelf ſeverely, "for being ſo tickled with ſenſual Delight in Divine Worſhip, "and heartily bleſt God for being deliver'd from that Snare. He "withal expreſly declares, that he often wiſh'd that the melo- "dious Singing of *David*'s Pſalter with ſo much art, were re- "mov'd from his and the Churches Ears: and that he thought "the Method which he had often heard was us'd by *Athanaſius* "Biſhop of *Alexandria* was the ſafeſt; who caus'd him who read "the Pſalm to uſe ſo little a variation of the Voice, that he "ſeem'd more like to one pronouncing, than ſinging. And "elſewhere he declares, that the ſame way of Singing as was "us'd in *Alexandria*, prevail'd throughout all *Africa*. St. *Auſtin* charges it upon himſelf as a great fault, that he was more mov'd with the pompous ſort of Singing, than the thing ſung; and that he gave more reſpect to muſical Delights in the Church than was ſeemly; to which he was very prone; and which he repreſents as a great inconvenience of nicely manag'd artificial Concord in that part of Divine Worſhip. I wiſh thoſe who profeſs ſo great a Reverence for Antiquity, could but ſee the force of this Objection as coming from ſo noted a Father as St. *Auſtin*, which

Confeſſ. l. 9. c. 6.

Conf. l. 10. c. 33.

Ep. 119.

which they are ſo apt to ſlight when mention'd by one who ſtands upon a level with them. If I miſtake not, he liv'd before our Engliſh *Diſſenters* appear'd.

Hier. Epiſt. ad Ruſticum. St. *Hierom* alſo (tho Friend enough in all reaſon to Pomp and Magnificence in Divine Worſhip, yet) drops a Paſſage that looks askew at the Artiſts of the Quire in his time: "Intimating that "we are not like Tragædians, to anoint our Throat and Mouth "with ſweet Modulation, that our Theatrical Tunes and Songs "may be heard in the Church; but we are to ſing with Reverence.

De Eccleſiaſt. Off. l. 1. c. 5. *Iſidore Hiſpalenſis* (a celebrated Author in the ſixth Century) ſays, that "the Singing of the Primitive Chriſtians was next akin "to Reading, the variation of the Voice was ſo very ſmall; and "as for that pompous way of Singing which had a little before "his time bin introduc'd into the Weſtern Church, he ſays 'twas "brought in for the ſake of thoſe who were Carnal, and not on "their account who were Spiritual: that thoſe who are not "reach'd or affected by the Words, might be charm'd by the "ſweetneſs of the Harmony. In my Apprehenſion, this is not much in favour of the Quire.

De Inſtitut. Cleric. l. 2. c. 48. *Rabanus Maurus* (who was a Diſciple of the famous *Alcuin*) "freely declares himſelf againſt Muſical Artifice, and Theatri-"cal Singing in the Worſhip of God; and only for ſuch as may "move compunction, and may be clearly underſtood by the "Hearers.

In 22. q. 91. a. 2. 4. *Thomas Aquinas* (who is univerſally reputed the ſolideſt of the Schoolmen) "declares againſt muſical Inſtruments in divine Wor-"ſhip; which together with the pompous Service of the Quire, "he ſeems to intimate were Judaical. He ſays Muſical Inſtru-"ments do more ſtir up the mind to Delight, than frame it "to a right Diſpoſition. In the Old Teſtament ſuch ſenſitive "helps were more needful, and they were figurative of ſomething: "but now (he ſays) he ſees no reaſon for them.

Catalog. Teſt. Ver. l. 18. *John Wickleff* (that early Deteſter of the Corruptions which had overſpread the Church) declar'd againſt the Eccleſiaſtical Sing-ing. He was altogether againſt the Cathedral Service, and that Ceremonious Worſhip, which the Popes of *Rome* in all Parts ſo zealouſly promoted. He mightily contended for the Abolition of the ſeveral Offices, and Canonical Hours, *&c.*

Comment. on 1 Cor. 14. 19. After him, among others, *Eraſmus* very freely (in his wonted manner) inveighs againſt the Cathedral Chanting. "There is "(ſays

" (ſays he) a ſort a Muſick brought into Divine Worſhip, which " hinders People from diſtinctly underſtanding a word almoſt that " is ſaid. Nor have the Singers any leiſure to mind what it is they " ſing; nor can the Vulgar hear any thing but an empty ſound, " which delightfully glides into their Ears. What Notions have " they (ſays he) of Chriſt, who think he's pleas'd with ſuch a Noiſe? " and afterwards, We have brought (ſays he) a tedious and " frolickſom ſort of Muſick into the Houſe of God, a tumultu- " ous noiſe of different Voices, ſuch as I think was never heard " in the Theatres, either of *Greeks* or *Romans*. For the keep- " ing up of which, whole flocks of Boys are maintain'd at great " Charges, whoſe Age is ſpent in learning ſuch gibble gabble; " while they are taught nothing that is good and uſeful; a " whole troop of lazy Lubbards are alſo maintain'd merely for " the ſame purpoſe. At ſuch coſt is the Church for a thing that's " peſtiferous. Whereupon he wiſhes it were exactly calculated, " how many poor Men might be reliev'd and maintain'd out of " the Salaries of theſe Singers. (A very good wiſh; I may poſ- ſibly make an Eſſay towards ſuch a Calculation in my next.) " He particularly reflects upon the Engliſh for their fondneſs of " this ſort of Service.—So that I find 'tis not of late days only, that my Countrymen are degenerated from the old *Brittans*.

Cornelius Agrippa (who was Counſellor to the Emperor *Charles* the 5*th*) vehemently alſo inveighs againſt the Church Muſick, and ſays: " That 'tis ſo licentious, that the Divine Offices, Ho- " ly Myſteries, and Prayers, are chanted by a company of wan- " ton Muſicians, who are hir'd with a great ſum of Money, not " to the Hearers Underſtanding, but merely for wanton tickling. " The Church being fill'd with belluine Clamours, while the Boys " whine the Deſcant, others bellow the Tenour, others bark the " Counterpoint, others ſqueak the Treble, others grunt the Baſe; " and they make that many ſounds may be heard, but no Words " or Sentences (almoſt) be underſtood, but the Authority of " Judgment is taken away both from the Ears and Mind. De Vanitate Scientiarum, cap. 17.

Zuinglius, (the firſt Reformer of the *Helvetian* Church) is very warm alſo upon this Point. " It is evident (ſays he) that the " Eccleſiaſtical Chanting, and the roaring in our Temples, " (which are ſcarce underſtood by the Prieſts themſelves) is a " moſt fooliſh and vain abuſe, and a moſt pernicious hindrance " to Piety. Zuinglii Act. Diſp. 2. p. 106.

I might mention *John Calvin* alſo; but that I know his Authority won't go far with thoſe whoſe Conviction I would gladly promote.

But Cardinal *Cajetan* is an Unexceptionable Man; as great an Enemy as he was of the Reformers, he yet herein agrees with them; declaring, "that it may be eaſily gather'd from 1 *Cor.* 14. "that 'tis much more eligible and agreeable to the Apoſtle's "Mind, that the Sacred Offices ſhould be diſtinctly recited, and "intelligibly perform'd in the Church, without Muſical and Artificial Harmony; than ſo manag'd, as that with the noiſe of muſical Organs, and the Multitude, Clamours and Quavers, and abſurd Repetitions of affected Singers, (which ſeem as it were devis'd on purpoſe to darken the ſenſe) the Auditors ſhould be ſo confounded, as that no one ſhould be able to underſtand what was ſung.

In 1 Cor. 14.

Polidore Virgile alſo (tho an *Italian*) writes to the ſame purpoſe: "Now (ſays he) the Chanters make a noiſe in the Church, and "nothing is heard there but a Voice; and others who are preſent reſt ſatisfi'd with the conſent of the Crys, no way regarding the meaning of the words. And ſo it is, that among the Multitude, all the eſteem of Divine Worſhip ſeems to rely upon the Chanters; altho generally no ſort of Men are lighter or more wicked, [the *Spaniſh Index Expurgatorius*, pag. 72. order'd theſe words to be left out in following Impreſſions] "and in the "ſame place, ſpeaking of the Quire, (he ſaith) I may ſay that "theſe are for the moſt part brought into our Ceremonies from "the old Heathens, who were wont to ſacrifice with Symphony, as *Livy* witneſſeth, *Lib.* 9.

De Invent. rerum, l. 6. c. 2.

Nay *Lindanus* Biſhop of *Ruremond*, continues even after the Reformation in the ſame Tone; and bitterly "complains of the "Muſicians and Singers, that have poſſeſt the Church; whoſe "Singing is nothing elſe but a Theatrical confuſion of Sounds, "which rather tends to avert the minds of Hearers from that "that is good, than raiſe them to God: and declares, that tho "he had oft bin preſent, and was as attentive as well he could "be to what was ſung, he yet could hardly underſtand any thing; "the whole Service was ſo fill'd with Repetitions, and a confuſion of different Voices and Tones, and rude Clamours. And "thereupon he praiſes thoſe who expell'd this ſort of Muſick "out of their Churches as a profane hindrance of Divine Worſhip, and a device of humane Vanity, rather than admitted and

Lindan. Panopliæ, l. 5. c. 7.

continu'd

" continu'd it, for the gaining the Applauſe of the Light and " Frothy.

And now, Sir, what think you of Dr. *Comber*'s Aſſertion, that none objected againſt the Cathedral Service, till the *Diſſenters* appear'd? I doubt the Doctor would not willingly have them grac'd with ſuch Patrons as the Perſons mentioned.

I know indeed 'twill be reply'd, that the forecited Cenſures were level'd againſt the Service of the Quire in the Popiſh Churches: but till it can be made appear that it is even in our Proteſtant Churches free from the things excepted againſt, their Objections have an equal force. And really, tho I have bin abroad, and had Opportunity of ſeeing the Popiſh way, yet (bating the Language) I can diſcern little difference between their Worſhip and ours, as manag'd in our Cathedrals.

I'll add one Authority more, which with ſome poſſibly may outweigh all the reſt; and 'tis that of the 32 Commiſſioners, who were in the Reign of *H.* 8. and *Edw.* 6. appointed by Act of Parliament to examine all Canons, Conſtitutions, and Ordinances, Provincial and Synodal; and to draw up ſuch Laws Eccleſiaſtical, as ſhould be univerſally obſerv'd. The ſame thing was alſo reviv'd in the Reign of Queen *Elizabeth*, but quickly dropt; and (ſaith the Reverend Biſhop *Burnet*) to the great prejudice of our Church it hath ſlept ever ſince. The Perſons deputed for this purpoſe, were *Cranmer* Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, *Ridley* Biſhop of *London*; *Ponet* Biſhop of *Wincheſter*, *Goodrick* Biſhop of *Ely*, *Coverdale* Biſhop of *Exeter*, *Hooper* Biſhop of *Gloceſter*, *Knight* Biſhop of *Bath*, *Scory* Biſhop of *Rocheſter*, Mr. *Taylor* of *Lincoln*, Mr. *Cox* the King's Almoner, *Parker* of *Cambridg*, *Latimer*, *Cook*, *Peter Martyr*, Sir *John Cheke*, *John a Laſco*, Mr. *Peter*, Mr. *Cecyl*, Sir *Tho. Smith*, Mr. *Taylor* of *Hadleigh*, Dr. *May*, Mr. *Traheron*, Dr. *Lyel*, Mr. *Skinner*, Juſtice *Hales*, Juſtice *Bromley*, *Goodrick*, *Goſnal*, *Stamford*, *Carel*, *Lucas*, and *Brook* Recorder of *London*. The flower of the Engliſh Nation for Senſe and Learning, Sacred and Polite Literature. Tho the Deſign came not to Maturity, yet may we in their unfiniſh'd Tract, (ſince publiſh'd under the Title of *Reformatio Legum Anglicarum*) as to the ſeveral Points whereof they treat, ſee the Judgment of a ſet of as valuable Men as this Nation could perhaps ever have afforded, for conſulting together about a matter of ſo great Moment. Now in this Diſcourſe of theirs, when they come to treat of the Vocal and Inſtrumental Muſick us'd in the Cathedral Service, De Divinis Officiis. c. 5.

vice, they declare they are for having it quite taken away.

It would almost tempt a Man to wonder with what [illegible] can pretend to have so great a Veneration for our first [illegible] as they do, when yet they so zealously defend, and are so [illegible] retaining what they thought better abolish'd and quite rem[illegible]

And thus (Sir) I have finish'd the Authoritative part [illegible] Argument; wherein I think I have bid fair for proving [illegible] tiquity and Authority don't so far favour our Cathedralists [illegible] seem to imagine. The reasoning Part remains behind, [illegible] but recollect what past at our Conference, what Argume[illegible] urg'd, and how Objections were answer'd, I should hop[illegible] many might be convinc'd. If you'l shew this to the honou[illegible] and be so kind as to let me know his Censure and Refera[illegible] try what I can do; and at the same time endeavour a Re[illegible] Animadversions, and a further clearing of the matter.

Yours, &c. N. N.